DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 126 573 EA 008 515

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TITLE An Exploration of Conflict and Conflict Management.
SPONS AGENCY Danforth Foundation, St. Louis, Mo.; Tennessee Univ., Knoxville.
PUB DATE 15 May 76
NOTE 32p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Behavior Theories; *Conflict; *Conflict Resolution; Educational Administration; Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; Field Interviews; *Interpersonal Relationship; Management; Organization; *Organizations (Groups); Social Exchange Theory

ABSTRACT

The study reported on was conducted to study aspects of conflict and conflict management that might have implications for the fields of education and educational administration. The five phases of the study include a review of the literature, a series of interviews, a synthesis of ideas, the dissemination of findings, and a concluding research effort focused on the various types of conflict being studied. The study is not yet complete. It was assumed that conflict is pervasive in all facets of life, that it is a natural rather than a pathological phenomenon, and that the properties of conflict, the situational variables related to the production of conflict, and the characteristics of effective and ineffective conflict management strategies could be identified and isolated for purposes of analysis and diagnostic study. The types of conflict studied were intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, intraorganizational, and interorganizational. The variables related to conflict include its origins, causes, symptoms, and outcomes as well as strategies to manage conflict and the goals of parties engaged in conflict. The persons interviewed were representative of the major fields of inquiry, including political science, sociology, economics, psychology, education, business, labor arbitration, and law. Tentative results are presented. (Author/IRT)

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ED126573

An Exploration of Conflict and Conflict Management

by

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University of Tennessee

Knoxville, Tennessee

May 15, 1976

(A Report of an Initial Study of Conflict and Conflict Management Supported by the Danforth Foundation - National Academy of School Executives Fellowship Program and The University of Tennessee - Knoxville)

EA 008 515

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study which is reported here was made possible by a Danforth Foundation - National Academy of School Executives Fellowship, a study leave granted by The University of Tennessee - Knoxville, and research funds made available by the University of Tennessee - Knoxville Graduate School.

I am indebted to Dr. Newman Walker and the Palo Alto Unified School District, Dr. Frank Yeager and the Durham County School District, Dr. John Reynolds and the Reidsville School District, Dr. Car Foster and the Roosevelt Elementary School of Louisville, Kentucky and to Mr. Leon West and the Black Affairs Center in Washington D.C. for special support which facilitated the study.

Special acknowledgement is also extended to the more than 100 individuals in the United States, England, and Germany whose participation in the interviews made possible the completion of this phase of the study. Their generous contributions considerably enhanced my own understanding of conflict and its management.

I acknowledge and sincerely appreciate the initial and continued support for the project from my colleagues, Dr. Dewey Stollar, Chairman of the EA&S Department, Dr. James McComas, Dean of the College of Education, Dr. Walter Herndon, Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Jack Reese, Chancellor, all of the University of Tennessee - Knoxville, and to Dr. Paul Salmon, Dr. Louis Zeyen, Dr. William Curtis, Dr. Joseph Sarthory, Mrs. Linda Goldsmith, Mr. Lloyd Carlton, and Mrs. Deborah Vild, all of the AASA-NASE.

Finally, a special acknowledgement is extended to my wife, Phyllis for her continued active support and encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

This is a report about a study undertaken to explore conflict and its management. It is a study which in reality has just begun. It was initiated in response to the needs expressed by school administrators for more effective conflict management strategies. It was nurtured by a personal and professional sense of responsibility to respond to that need. Its importance is underscored by the personal experiences of administrators, professors, and by those of us who attempt to provide services to the broader educational community. We realize there is no place for the educator to hide.

The late 1960's demonstrated beyond a doubt that educational institutions were vulnerable. The troubled times of student riots, teacher strikes, parent militancy, community unrest in general and massive federal funding of various remedial and developmental programs all attest to the various forms of conflict which exist in the field of education and educational administration. The continued strife reflected in the past seven Gallup Polls for Phi Delta Kappa related to the public's attitude toward education, the impending passage of a national law related to bargaining rights of public employees, the unwillingness of communities to increase their financial support of public education, the continued conflict reflected in court ordered desegregation plans and the increased polarization within the education profession around numerous other issues constitute support for the assertion that conflict is pervasive and that more systematic efforts to study it are needed.

My own familiarity with practices in the public schools and a subsequent review of the literature provide strong evidence that those primarily responsible for managing educational conflicts have only minimally benefited

from the experience of the 60's. Perhaps current leaders were not directly involved during the 60's. Maybe human behavior is not amenable to rapid change. It is possible that the nature of conflict is different today. Yet other possibilities seem to exist. Could it be that much of the material, conceptual skills and ideas related to effective conflict management has not yet found its way into the hands of those responsible for managing conflict within the field of education? It does appear that efforts to understand conflict and to develop strategies for managing it are incidental, haphazard, and largely situational in nature.

This realization suggests the need to identify conflict-prone situations and people and to provide some insight and training to those who wish to assume the responsibility of administering educational institutions. My own work in the field of human interaction, communication skills, staff and organizational development, teaching and advising has led rather naturally to a focused interest related to conflict and its management.

The development of a seminar, EA&S 6580 - Seminar in Conflict Management at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville provided a natural vehicle for studying conflict more seriously. This thrust, followed by a UCEA - PSCR jointly sponsored conflict management seminar for graduate students, provided the impetus for writing a proposal related to conflict and its management. Phase II of this proposal was subsequently submitted to the Danforth Foundation - National Academy for School Executives for a fellowship. That fellowship along with a study leave from The University of Tennessee and a small research grant from the Graduate School provided me with an opportunity to more quickly devote time to a study of conflict and conflict management which might have implications for the fields of education and educational administration.

The entire proposal was intended to be exploratory in nature. It was to generate ideas, to analyze existing practices, to determine trends in thinking, to formulate definitions, to develop and test researchable hypothesis and to disseminate the findings to a broad professional public. The proposal rests on several initial assumptions, and includes five phases.

It was assumed that conflict was pervasive in all facets of life, that it was a natural rather than a pathological phenomenon, that the properties of conflict, the situational variables related to the production of conflict and the characteristics of effective and ineffective conflict management strategies could be identified and isolated for purposes of analysis and diagnostic study. Further, it was assumed that persons in the behavioral sciences including education had something worthwhile to contribute to an understanding of conflict and conflict management.

Initially conflict was defined broadly. It included all interaction ranging from intra-personal uncertainties that immobilized the individual to inter-organizational relationships that resulted in armed aggression and hostilities. As data are analyzed and future research efforts become more focused more precise definitions may emerge.

Figure I provided a way of looking at the study which was helpful. Types of conflict studied included intra-personal, inter-personal, intra-group, inter-group, intra-organizational, and inter-organizational. Variables related to conflict, and which were studied included the origin of conflict, the causes of conflict, symptoms associated with conflict, strategies developed to manage conflict, the goals of parties engaged in conflict and the outcomes of conflict. Persons interviewed included those responsible for managing conflict within an organization, persons who intervened as outsiders to help individuals or organizations manage

their conflict and persons whose primary role was that of conceptualizing conflict and/or its management or who conducted research related to conflict and its management. Persons interviewed were representative of the major fields of inquiry including political science, sociology, economics, psychology, education, business, labor artibration and law.

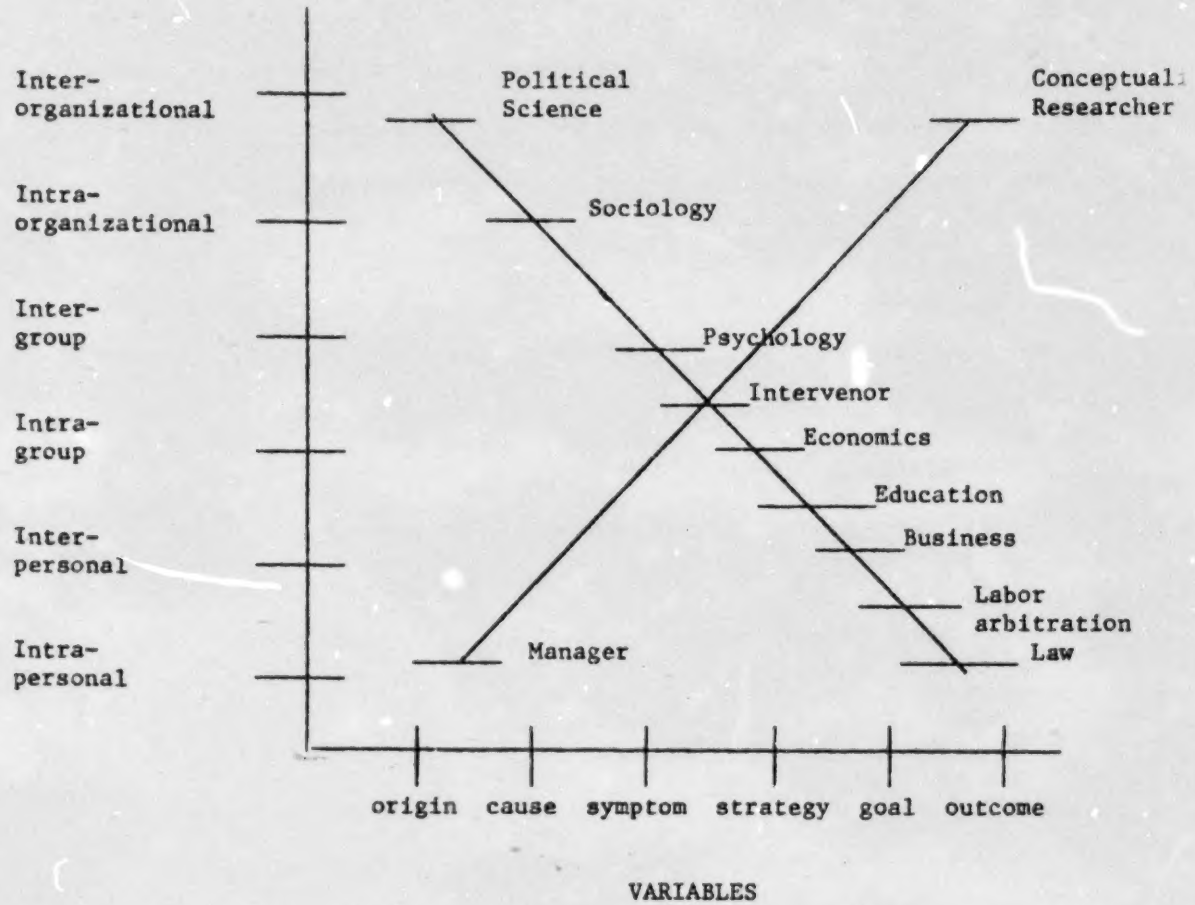

Figure 1. A Graphic Conceptualization of the Conflict Management Study

The five phases of the broader study include a review of the literature, gathering data through a series of interviews, a synthesis of ideas, the dissemination of findings, and a concluding research effort focused on the various types of conflict being studied.

Phase I has been partially completed. Phase II has been completed and the project is simultaneously proceeding to complete Phase I even as it moves into Phase III. Some activities related to Phase IV and V have started to take place and a proposal has been submitted to a major foundation for financial support to continue the project.

PROCEDURES

To guide the study through its five phases a number of instruments and processes were developed.

Review of Literature - Phase I

Phase I was essential to the success of the project. It involved reviewing the literature related to conflict and conflict management in different areas of inquiry. Typical sources surveyed included The Social Sciences Index, The Psychological Abstracts, The Sociological Abstracts, Dissertation Abstracts, ERIC, The University of Tennessee Card Catalogue, Guide to Periodical Literature, the complete volumes of The Journal of Conflict Resolution and UT Research Coordination Unit materials. The Lockheed Retrieval Information system will also be searched to identify additional references relevant to the study. Of the over 1800 references currently identified, 300 have been annotated. The remaining are in the process of being annotated and classified according to an initial set of categories of conflict and conflict management (Figure II) which was

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT PROJECT

Classify the abstract into <u>one</u> of the following categories by placing an "x" in the appropriate box under Column A. Cross reference the abstract into as many categories as seem appropriate by placing an "x" in the appropriate boxes under Column B.

A	B		
		I.	Types of Conflict Presented
☐	☐		Intra-personal
☐	☐		Inter-personal
☐	☐		Intra-group
☐	☐		Inter-group
☐	☐		Intra-organizational
☐	☐		Inter-organizational
		II.	Aspect of Conflict Discussed
☐	☐		Origin of conflict
☐	☐		Cause of conflict
☐	☐		Symptoms of conflict
☐	☐		Strategies for managing conflict
☐	☐		Models to help explain/understand conflict
☐	☐		Goals related to conflict
		III.	Areas of Conflict Explored
☐	☐		International relations
☐	☐		Business-labor
☐	☐		Government-public sector
☐	☐		Legal issues
☐	☐		Race relations
☐	☐		Education, teaching, learning
☐	☐		Mental health

☐ ☐ Economic productivity

☐ ☐ Social welfare, class, structure, mobility

☐ ☐ Political affairs

☐ ☐ Marital, family

☐ ☐ Religious

☐ ☐ Administration, management

☐ ☐ Organizational change

IV. Type of Presentation

☐ ☐ Case study

☐ ☐ Statistical analysis

☐ ☐ Research report

☐ ☐ Theoretical formulation

☐ ☐ Model development

☐ ☐ Philosophical presentation

☐ ☐ Review of literature

☐ ☐ How-to-do-it article

Figure II

A System for Classifying References on Conflict and Conflict Management

developed to provide a consistent means of classifying materials reviewed. Basically the taxonomy is a common sense guide. It follows the general format established by the University Council on Educational Administration for those persons abstracting articles for the publication, Educational Administration Abstracts. As the study proceeds, the utility of the taxonomy will become evident. Time and resources to complete Phase I activities are critical to the project.

Interviews - Phase II

Phase II involved collecting data through interviewing more than 100 persons in the United States, England and Germany. Interviews were usually of one to two hours duration and in most cases they were recorded on a cassette tape for future reference and transcription. Since it was assumed that conflict was pervasive in all areas of life and would be experienced by all people, interviews were arranged with people in all major fields of study within the behavioral sciences, broadly defined. To assure the collection of data in depth, interviews were held with persons responsible for managing conflict within organizations, with "outside" persons responsible for helping organizations and individuals manage conflict, and with persons who had written widely or conducted research about conflict and/or conflict management.

Phase II was intended to draw upon the concepts identified in the process of reviewing the literature. The need to proveed with Phase II as a function of the availability of a study leave and the awarding of the Danforth Foundation - National Academy of School Executives Fellowship precluded completing Phase I activities prior to the beginnin of Phase II.

Initially it was anticipated that a list of questions would be extremely helpful in conducting the interviews. It was also anticipated

that some questions would be more relevant for use with those persons primarily responsible for administering conflict in on-the-job-situations and other questions would be more relevant for those persons whose role vis-a-vis conflict and its management was primarily that of theorizing or conceptualizing about conflict. Further, it was assumed that "outsiders" responsible for attempting to mediate or arbitrate conflict would respond more easily to yet other questions. The questions which were developed and which provided a focus for the interviews were as follows:

1. With what kinds of conflict are you most familiar?

   LOOK FOR: intra-personal, inter-personal, intra-group, inter-group, intra-organizational, inter-organizational.

2. What are some of the most frequent causes of conflict?

   LOOK FOR: differences in values, stretegies, goals, human needs, i.e. control, security, autonomy, etc.

3. What are some of the most common symptoms of conflict?

   LOOK FOR: tension, tears, threats, quietness, arbitrary decisions, verbal abuse, ritualistic behavior.

4. What kinds of situations or factors contribute most to conflict development and/or perpetuation?

   LOOK FOR: overcrowding, proximity, differences, scarcity, level of intimacy, time of week, work, home, fatigue, role relationships, change, policies.

5. What are the identifyable stages that conflict goes through?

   LOOK FOR: early warning systems, shock, defensive posturing, exploratory reactions, alternative testing, crystallization of issues, engagement, strategy development, goal clarification, identity crises, negotiation, acceptance of reality, change oriented behaviors.

6. Are some people and/or groups more conflict prone?

   LOOK FOR: characteristics related to economics, political beliefs, religious beliefs, personalities, level of education, sex, race, social class, strength of values.

7. What kinds of conflict are the most difficult to manage?

   LOOK FOR: emotional issues, value differences, scarcity of resources, political issues, goal differences, procedural differences, issues of self concept, organizational control issues, territorial expansion.

8. What tends to be the overall effect of conflict upon people who become involved in conflict?

   LOOK FOR: stability, change, growth, catharsis, less communication, functional relationships, emotional disengagement, clarification of roles.

9. What is the source of authority for the role you most frequently play in attempting to manage conflict?

   LOOK FOR: legal, organizational, professional, emotional, knowledge, physical, rationality, control of rewards, power, tradition, superstition.

10. What factors must be taken into consideration in any effort to understand conflict and how to manage it?

    LOOK FOR: the role of values, trust, timing, communications, boundaries, goals, accepted procedures.

11. What principles govern your efforts to manage conflict?

    LOOK FOR: self interest, organizational maintenance, ethics, opportunity to demonstrate ability, image, upholding of rules, bringing about change, reducing ambiguity.

12. What strategies do you most frequently use in managing conflict?

    LOOK FOR: mediation, use of authority, avoidance, withdrawal, confrontation, help-seeker, score keeper, gate keeper, suppressor, legal, political, human relations.

13. What strategies do you find most effective in managing conflict?

    LOOK FOR: problem solving, concern for maintaining relationships, concern for own needs, use of superordinate goals, introducing structure, use of authority, involvement, use of mediators, reference to established procedures.

14. How have you changed in your approach to the management of conflict over the last few years?

    LOOK FOR: thing to people orientation, stability to change, organization emphasis to individual concern, simple to complex strategies, unilateral decisions to group involvement, or a reverse of the above.

15. What are some of the most important skills needed by conflict managers?

    LOOK FOR: listening, confronting, conceptualizing, aggression, rituals, decisiveness, ability to absorb, patience, responsiveness, tolerance for ambiguity, creativity, ability to synthesize.

16. How did you acquire the conflict management skills you have?

    LOOK FOR: education, experience, home background, work setting, special programs, reading.

17. Which of the conflict management skills needed by effective conflict managers could be taught in a preparation program?

    LOOK FOR: listening, confronting, conceptualizing, rituals, decisiveness, ability to absorb aggression, patience, responsiveness, tolerance for ambiguity, creativity, ability to synthesize.

18. What are the attributes of an effective conflict intervenor?

    LOOK FOR: knowledgeable, neutral, effective facilitator, patient, tough-minded, trust-worthy, authoritative, impersonal, accepting.

19. What are the most common feelings and emotions associated with conflict? Its management?

    LOOK FOR: anger, frustration, despair, coldness, anxiety, happiness, hardness, excitement, tension, relief, apprehension, insecurity, strength.

20. What role do feelings and emotion play in conflict and its management?

    LOOK FOR: a source of energy, motivation, increase the conflict, preservation of self concept, move conflict toward a solution, a source of conflict.

21. What are the similarities between and among various conflicts such as intra-personal and intra-organizational or inter-personal and inter-organizational?

    LOOK FOR: needs of entities involved, scarcity of resources, use of control, strength of power base, commonality of objectives, applicability of procedures, territorial issues.

22. What are some of the most promising concepts emerging in relation to conflict and its management?

LOOK FOR: prisoners' dilemma, mediating structures, interaction models, territorial boundaries, med-arb, value clarification, problem solving approaches, over-lapping memberships, structured confrontations.

23. What are some of the most promising approaches being used by colleges and universities to prepare professional personnel to manage conflict more effectively?

LOOK FOR: field activities, simulation, role playing, human relations type activities, staged confrontations, use of computers, zero-sum and non zero-sum gaming approaches, on-the-job exposure.

24. What aspects of conflict and its management are most in need of further research and study?

LOOK FOR: origin, manifestations, strategies, outcomes, types of conflict, people involved, definitions.

25. What are some of the most constructive aspects of conflict and its management?

LOOK FOR: group cohesion, clearer definition of problems, better communication, efficiency, effectiveness, reduced anxiety, change, self and organizational enhancement.

The procedure which was developed for use in interviewing respondents and which seemed most suited to the time available for each interview involved:

a. An explanation of the focus of the study.

b. A request for permission to tape record the interview.

c. A suggestion that the interviewee discuss a conflict he or she was either involved in or had intimate knowledge of.

d. Asking periodic questions during the interviewees response to more fully explore his/her observations which related to the focus of the study.

e. Clarifying by restating comments to insure that the researcher understood the "point" made and to facilitate the interviewee's further exploration of the conflict.

f. Expressing appreciation for the help given by the interviewee.

g. Indicating a desire to maintain contact with the interviewee and to share data coming out of the study.

This procedure had the advantage of allowing the interviewee to begin the discussion with a concrete situation with which he or she was familiar. It allowed for a natural flow of conversation. It required the researcher to keep in mind the questions which gave focus to the study and yet to sustain a natural discussion revolving around those aspects of conflict the interviewee wished to discuss. The format provided the researcher an opportunity to explore in more depth specific conflict situations than would a straight question and answer approach. It also provided for a more cohesive interview.

Interview Arrangements

To facilitate the interviewing procedure, an initial contact with the proposed interviewee was made by a representative of the National Academy of School Executives by phone or by the researcher. Once an individual had agreed to be interviewed the researcher sent a follow-up letter expressing appreciation for the forthcoming interview. That letter also provided other information about the study. Once the researcher was in the local area a telephone call was made to confirm the time and place of the appointment and to answer any questions which might have arisen by that time. The actual interview was conducted as indicated above. Following the interview a letter was sent expressing appreciation for the person's assistance and help.

Travel Itinerary

On December 10, 1975 this researcher left Knoxville for Ohio and Michigan. Interviews were conducted in the Columbus, Ohio and Ann Arbor, Michigan areas. This initial interviewing lasted for 10 days. It was during these early interviews that the interview format was changed from the question and answer approach to the procedure described above. On January 4 the researcher left for Washington, D.C. and participated in a two day program sponsored by the National Academy for School Executives in which other Danforth Foundation - National Academy of School Executives Fellows participated. Between January 6 and January 29 interviews were conducted in Washington, D.C., Reidsville, North Carolina, Baltimore, New York City, Boston, Hanover, New Hampshire, and Syracuse, New York. For the next three weeks interviews were conducted primarily in the London, England area. Additional interviews were conducted in Westrhauderfene and Munster, Germany. Between February 23 and March 19 this researcher conducted interviews in St. Louis, Denver, Gerring, Nebraska, Boulder, Colorado, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Oakland, Palo Alto, Los Angeles, Clairmont, and LaJolla, California. Over 100 interviews were conducted during Phase II. In addition to the interviews, a number of other meetings were attended and tape recorded. These included a board of education meeting, an administrative meeting, a press conference, a discussion group of behavioral scientists, a police training session, and an informal discussion related to selection of university administrative personnel.

Synthesis and Conceptualization - Phase III

Interviews recorded on cassettes in Phase II have been duplicated for safekeeping. Approximately fifteen recorded interviews have been

transcribed and the remaining tapes will be transcribed as resources become available for that purpose. A number of doctoral students are involved in analyzing information from the tapes for relevant conflict concepts, and management practices. These tapes of interviews with mental health related interviewees are being analyzed to identify commonalities among approaches used or suggested by these specialists for managing inter-personal and emotional type conflicts. Other doctoral students are continuing to review library materials previously identified but not yet annotated.

This phase of the study will require a considerable amount of time, energy and commitment. Its successful completion in the near future will depend upon additional resources not currently available.

Dissemination

An important aspect of the project is to disseminate those findings which emerge from the study to interested persons, institutions, and professional associations. This report constitutes one of the first efforts to disseminate material gleaned from phases one and two. It is being disseminated to those persons who consented to be interviewed, to appropriate University of Tennessee personnel, and to interested superintendents, university professors, and to other people who have expressed interest in the project. In addition, verbal presentations have been made to a Tennessee organization, the Public Schools for Cooperative Research, graduate students participating in a departmental doctoral seminar (EA&S 6040), the Annual Convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, and the Fairfax County Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa.

Tentative findings of the study are also being used in seminars and

workshops this researcher has been asked to conduct. Three such requests have currently been filled - a one day seminar conducted at Syracuse University, a workshop of the Oak Ridge Public Schools administrative staff and with selected staff and administrators of the Eugene, Oregon Public Schools. Conferences to be directed include NASE Conflict Management Seminars to be held in Denver and Miami, a conflict management seminar for administrators sponsored by Loyola College in Baltimore and a summer seminar on conflict management for administrators at Syracuse University.

Other dissemination efforts which will be explored include the publication of journal articles, an AASA monograph, a book, a report to the AASA Convention in Las Vegas as a follow up report, individual copies of materials to superintendents, organizations, etc. and hopefully a UCEA Faculty-Administrative Seminar. Based on the requests received to date, it is anticipated that other opportunities to disseminate materials will be forthcoming.

Findings

It is too soon for this researcher to make a definitive statement about conflict and its management on the basis of data collected and analyzed to date. This is therefore a report of tentative findings and impressions.

Conflict appears to be an integral, natural part of life. It permeates every relationship and all organizations. It sustains and nourishes self identity and organizatonal behavior even as it incapacitates individuals and organizations. It is a force which operates to maintain the viability of life by requiring those involved to clarify, to restructure, to establish new priorities and perhaps most importantly to grow in order to survive.

Conflict appears to have its origin in differences. Differences in values, philosophy, methods of doing things, amount of resources available to people, age, sex, level of education, etc. It also appears to be most pronounced in those situations where differences are greatest, and the ability or willingness of the interacting parties to make adjustments or accept those differences is very limited. Polarization coupled with a perceived emotional closeness of the parties involved tends to be conflict producing.

At the heart of much conflict is the need of people to be, to give expression to their being and to maximize a sense of self. This need when put in the context of scarce resources, organizational life and the needs of other people and groups leads rather naturally to a sense of competition, often as a way to survive. Although cultural norms and values appear to support competition as a legitimate pattern of behavior, there also appears to be general support for the right of each individual to exist, to be, to grow and to develop. Given the accuracy of the observation, there appears, then, the necessary ingredients to support the premise that conflict has been, is, and will continue to be a dynamic force in the lives of people and organizations.

It appears that most conflict initially stems from the contrasting and in many cases the similarity of needs experienced by individuals. Those needs tend to create imbalances, ambivalence, and paradoxical behavior visible to others. In general, persons interviewed tended to believe that conflict between people and/or organizations was the result of an individual attempting to satisfy his/her needs through organizational activity or as a result of individual interpretations of situations in wuch a way as to lead to conflict. Sometimes this was reflected in "empire building," selecting

a "style of working," the development of a "negotiating stance" or procedures for "helping people" and/or "getting along."

The origin of most conflict often seemed to be imperceptable or unknown. Incidents, unimportant in themselves, become the basis for a sense of being "slighted, "put down," "not considered" and/or "put upon." From these small beginnings, often but not always unintended, feelings and emotions were aroused and this provided the basis for initiating defensive and/or offensive behaviors. Such behaviors seem to have the thrust of protecting one's ego or self concept or of reducing the other persons capacity to adversly affect one's sense of well being and identity

The need for scarce resources to fulfill a job requirement within an organizational context, as interpreted by the persons involved, often seems to lead to organizational rivalries and conflicts. Where expectations are great, resources few, and rewards and punishments very visible for success and failure respectively, conflict tends to assume an unusual intensity.

In studying conflict and its management it was inevitable that some aspects would stand out above others. One such aspect is the role that emotion tends to have in conflict. Emotion and/or feelings tend to be present in all conflict although it is more visible in some conflicts than in others. The genuine absence of emotion or feeling from conflict suggests that the real conflict is not being dealt with, that game-playing is taking place or that perhaps rituals have been substituted for issues. Emotion provides the energy for sustaining conflict even as the abasnce or reduction of it tends to lead to adjustment, compromise, and management of conflict. The role of emotion in conflict needs to be studied in depth and carefully researched as to its impact upon specific kinds of conflict.

Early review of the literature and subsequent interviews confirmed

several ways of viewing conflict. The point of view expressed at the beginning of this chapter, that conflict is natural, is but one of 3 or 4 espoused by different writers. An earlier expressed belief and one still held by some authors and persons interviewed is that conflict is essentially a pathological phenomenon - a state of being in opposition to that of health and healthy relations. A second tenet is that conflict does exist, is a natural part of man's existence and as such should be accepted and strategies developed for adjusting to it, understanding it and controlling it for the betterment of a world society and the people in that society. A third school of thought is related to the active utilization of conflict as a force in bringing about constructive change in our organizations, in human relationships and in the development of a world order based on reality and historical precedent.

Interviews and meetings of administrators were used to test people's perception of these schools of thought. Older administrators have often been trained to administer schools based on the premise that conflict was "bad" and this was often reflected in their comments and in their practices. Newer teachings which have emerged from the behavioral sciences tend to support the view that conflict is a natural part of life. In each group queried a preponderence of administrators tended also to support this "natural" view of conflict. Fewer administrators supported the philosophy of actively creating conflict although many in practice follow a pattern of interaction which in effect does this. Such persons may be using the technique but are not able or willing to declare this. Less hesitancy for using this third approach was expressed by other interviewees.

Of the more visible causes of conflict, those related to values and strongly held beliefs seemed most difficult to manage. Opinion leader's writings and pronouncements appear to exhort their followers to adjust, and

compromise if necessary, but to "hold fast" on basic beliefs and attitudes. Such exhortation would appear to have the intention if not the effect of creating an uncompromising stand which can and often does lead to conflict.

In the organizational context, it appears that procedures may substitute for values as a major factor in conflict. Even as individuals are to be respected for their beliefs, so organizations expect to maintain their identity through cohesiveness and control. A primary means of achieving organizational goals is to secure compliance of its work force to "efficient production of goods and services, etc.", through established procedures. Such procedures are often the focal point around which controversy swirls. These procedures define, limit, provide freedom to, and in other ways structure the interaction among people and simultaneously create and manage conflict. They serve as a constant reminder of the presence of authority, the vulnerability of the individual and reinforce the unequal relationship between man and his social order. Such logic and the data to support it reinforce the presence of conflict and its importance.

Territory, turf or position, are all ways of describing a concept at the heart of much conflict. Private ownership of things, indeed of people through institutions such as marriage, parenthood, school, and organizational positions which enhance the status of one person over another, are a source of much conflict. Differences are created, priorities established, and people unwilling to accept these differences as "right," "good" or "desireable" from the vantage point of their needs, struggle against the boundaries and the procedures which define the territory. Conflict ensues!

Much of the recognition people get is related to the position(s) they hold. The social fabric of our culture is based on relationships established as a result of such positions. The economic and educational institutions reinforce and support the socialization of people to accept the legitimacy

of turf. Conflict among those striving to acquire turf as well as with those holding turf is a natural outcome of the structure which has been created. Typical turf positions in educational institutions may be identified by titles such as principal, teacher, student, business manager, director of personnel, assistant superintendent for curriculum, etc. Efforts to redefine the turf, which in itself has created conflict, are reflected in the development of advisory committees, a superintendent's cabinet, review boards and task forces. Such groups are gradually redefining turf from the "right to participate" to "the right to decide." Conflict continues, even in the new arrangements, but the conflict appears now to be shifting from one of procedures to one of basic values. It may be that a different set of strategies needs to be developed to successfully manage the emerging value conflicts.

Another source of conflict appears to be the distribution of power. As interviewees shared their insights about a conflict they revealed the dilemma experienced by many persons who have positions with little authority to change the nature of an organization but who experience themselves as having considerable insight to the problems and needs of that organization. Simultaneously they perceive those in positions of power as lacking in those same insights but who are perceived as being able to change the organization easily. This perceived discrepancy has given rise to many conflicts. Its form varies from one situation to another. It is often expressed in negotiation meetings, in resistance to cooperating with organizational officers, and most frequently in behind-the-scenes efforts to influence power holders. All such behavior is replete with conflict and often becomes destructive.

The issue of control and its use frequently highlights the question of manipulation. To feel manipulated frequently led to inter-personal conflict according to many interviewees. The use of rewards and punishments, the development of accountability systems, close supervision, the need to conform to behaviors not genuinely believed in, all frequently led to conflict and a feeling of being manipulated.

Conflict of an inter-personal nature appears to be affected by a number of factors. The existence of an awareness that the other person is in a position to enhance or inhibit one's need fulfillment is a factor which appears related to the intensity and duration of conflicts experienced with another person. The strength of a relationship appears to influence the willingness to people to engage in overt conflict. It further seems to determine, in part, the selection of strategies to be used in the management of inter-personal conflict.

A basic difference between intra-personal and inter-personal conflict seems to be related to the maintenance of internal integrity. In intra-personal conflict it appears that successful management requires a person to choose between parts of self with the result that resolution leaves him/her less than a whole person. Creative internal synthesis is a functional option if it can be achieved and legitimated by the individual. Inter-personal conflict appears to have the effect of unifying the individuals sense of integrity. This does not appear true, however, where an individual has internalized the needs of another and has transformed the inter-personal conflict into an intra-personal one.

Intra-group conflict seems to be of a different order. Individuals in conflict in groups often draw their support from different sources, have different goals and conflict over issues of individual autonomy, group

cohesiveness, participation in decision making, and rewards for contributing to group efforts. Allegiances develop, political maneuvering takes place and cliques or sub-groups form to support stands taken by spokesmen.

Conflict between groups which draw their support from the same organization is often functional in that for each group to fulfill its responsibilities to the larger organization, it must compete for scarce resources and achieve goals related to its function which may seem antithetical to the goals of other sub-units. Inter-group conflict of a territorial or jurisdictional nature tends to create conflict with more affective consequences. Intra-organizational and inter-organizational conflicts are essentially extensions of the phenomenon of group conflict. Inter-organizationa conflict tends to be more complex, focuses on broader social, economic and political issues. The organizations involved tend to use strategies aimed at achieving a pre-determined goal. Less emphasis is placed on problem solving and more on establishing a climate conducive to its continued existence. The inability of large educational organizations to respond to confrontations in a flexible manner was well documented in the Tyndale School controversy, the Boston Public School desegregation efforts, and the Jefferson County Schools desegregation plan. Other large organizations similarly seem to have difficulty in responding to conflict in a creative manner.

When conflict is examined in terms of visible evident of its existence, other characteristics come to the surface. Nonverbal behavior plays a special role. Facial expressions are used to reveal a full range of feelings from disbelief through acceptance to outright anger and hostility. Other body movements and gestures reflect states of conflict and provide clues as to the existence of conflict. Depending only upon the spoken

word to know when a conflict is about to take place or is in progress is to ignore an entire network of communication signals. The creation of study committees, surveying an organization, development of in-service activities, restructuring an organization, elimination of personnel and other similar activities are symptoms attesting to the presence of conflict. The ability to read these symptoms appears crucial to those who would become involved in managing conflict.

The management of conflict is an art. It can be learned. The skills, the tactics, and the strategies effective in managing various types of conflicts in a host of situations can be identified and used effectively. However the strategies most frequently used by managers of conflict appear to have been learned slowly, over time and with considerable difficulty. There is a wide variety of strategies available and they often appear to be used in relation to each other for some form of cumulative effect. It does appear that some hierarchy of strategies exists. Perhaps the sequencing of conflict events determines the strategy and gives the appearance of a hierarchy. In any event one of the first strategies to appear is often that of civil discourse, an effort to use human relations to create a climate of good will and understanding. Such an approach assumes that the parties in conflict are interested in adjusting to or accommodating each other. An emphasis is placed upon creating a climate conducive to exchanging information, opinions, and mutually influencing each other.

A strategy found helpful beyond direct interaction of the conflicting parties is that of involving a third party, mutually respected by the conflicting parties to assist in keeping communications open, frustration low, and preventing the emergence of hostility or a polarization of the issues. This technique was seen as very helpful but often under-used. Perhaps due

to a lack of sensitivity to the potential seriousness of the conflict as well as an over confidence on the part of each participant as to their ability to handle the conflict without help. It was suggested by many interviewers that involvement in a conflict seriously reduces the participant's legitimacy to use conflict management strategies he/she has found helpful elsewhere.

The entire conceptualization of the role of a third party functioning as a mediator is worthy of further study. It would involve exploring the issue of trust, ability to conceptualize issues, the use of time, skills such as listening, giving feedback, etc., and the mediators relations to each of the participants, among others.

Conflict related to issues and/or concerns which has become polarized, or which involves forces that preclude open acknowledgement of reality, where change is being sought at the expense of another, or where removal of the causes of conflict is not desired, usually did not seem capable of being managed effectively by good human relations or mediation efforts. Such conflict seemed more able to be managed by the use of arbitration. Turning the decision making over to a third party whose responsibility it is to interpret compliance with existing procedures or to decide between divergent points of view is a strategy being used more frequently. It does reflect the use of authority albeit external to the individuals or organizations involved. The variations in strategy which could be classified as essentially arbitrary in nature are numerous and need more study.

Beyond the quasi formality of arbitration lies a political realm used to manage conflict. This arena provides maximum participation of all interested parties and there appear to be fewer rules governing the

interaction process. Goals, values, rules, roles, resources, people, all become elements in the process. Strategies aim at putting combinations, coalitions, and agreements together to create a political mass which becomes power for the purpose of reaching decisions to manage the conflict. Similar tactics are used to prevent such political masses from being formed. The goal of conflict management strategies in this and other approaches is to establish those conditions such as climate, trust, boundaries, structure, power and/or force which will limit the expansion of the conflict, hopefully reduce it in scope and thereby make its management possible.

It appears that when the strategies mentioned fail to manage the conflict to the satisfaction of either or all parties involved the issue is taken to court. The judicial system is the most structured of known conflict management strategies. It provides a basis for managing conflict on the basis of a system of rights, obligations, legal precedent and historical antecedents. It represents, presumably, a broader public interest in fair play and justice. It is a system that functions primarily when a party involved in conflict seeks redress. Studies reviewed as part of the survey of literature reveal the complexity of pre-trial activities. Appearance before a court of law by conflicting parties suggest that many efforts to manage the conflict have taken place and have not been successful. Decisions reached by the court reflect the use of a high order of authority external to the parties in conflict.

Beyond the courts there lies yet another conflict management strategy. Those presons and organizations whose view or cause has found no support or relief through previous efforts at managing their conflicts, find expression in additional confrontations through strikes, violence, protest

movements and/or war. Such strategies far from being frowned upon are frequently legitimated by the larger social and world orders, especially when they succeed in making their point. Efforts are under way at agencies such as The Centre for the Analysis of Conflict or at the University of Oslo Peace Research Center to study the forces at work which support or inhibit the use of strategies relying upon force and violence. Currently, governments here and abroad continue to rely heavily upon the use of threats and/or force as a part of their conflict management strategies.

One finding of the study which deserves recognition is the relationship which appears to exist among those persons responsible for managing conflict on a day to day basis, those who function as third party intervenors and those who think and write about conflict and its management. Those who manage conflict appear to have received little formal training to help them in this task and there appears to be few specific efforts organized toward this goal either by the third party intervenors or those thinking and writing in the area. Third persons involved in mediating and arbitrating issues as part of a formal negotiation procedure tend not to be "educated-to the role" so much as having "learned-it-by-experience." The heavier emphasis placed upon the cognitive aspects of conflict by those writing about it is seen by some third party intervenors as actually inhibiting a persons ability to perform the task of intervening. The reluctance of institutions and faculty to become involved in emotions, feelings, and other affective states of being may be a major factor which prevents them from preparing more effective conflict managers.

Initially it was a focus of the study to explore conflict management models emmenating from different areas of study and to ascertain their contribution to the art of managing conflict. The fields of study related

to mental health provided insight to the practices followed by mental health centers, clinicians, and therapists in their efforts to help individuals understand and cope effectively with conflict. Tentatively, it would appear that these intervenors are oriented toward helping a person get to know and to accept the totality of him/herself, to help the person explore strategies for maintaining contact with vital life processes and to acquire a stability and integration of self so as to interact with others in a positive self-assured way. This strategy appears to depend upon helping the client reduce internal dissonance as well as to accept it as a part of living.

The fields of sociology, economics, and political science appear to have contributed much to understanding conflict from (a) a structural point of view, (2) study of forces which govern organizational interaction and conflict and (3) to a lesser degree the subtle variations reflected in the use of power, influence, political trade-offs and the impact of overlapping memberships. Increasingly, the use of legislation, the development of policy statements, and centralized decision-making is removing the opportunity of interested parties to become involved in conflicts affecting them and to make known their preferences for management strategies and solutions. Emphasis on these approaches to the management of conflict reduces the visibility of conflict even as it reduces the freedom of people to interact openly on such meaningful issues.

Fields of study such as labor negotiation have contributed much to the increasingly peaceful settlement of disputes. Often, however, strategies used in such negotiations appear to have accepted or perpetuated the theme of inherent distrust between the parties involved. It has tended to rely upon ever more careful definitions of terms, the use of ritualized

behavior and has increasingly placed emphasis upon the role of the outside intervenor in managing conflicts. As a model it appears to be among the most well developed even as it does not meet the criteria of helping the client system manage its conflicts better than it did before the intervention.

The judicial system is one of the more respected conflict management approaches and often the final arbiter between conflicting parties. It is based upon an adversary proceeding, with carefully defined rules and procedures to govern the interaction of these parties. The rituals established provide a form of security to those involved even in the midst of complex and potentially dangerous conflicts.

The evolvement of procedures for managing conflict which reduce the impact of spontaneous behavior appears to be gaining momentum. Perhaps the price of reducing conflict to manageable levels is the curtailment of individual maneuverability. If so, we may have chosen the path of conformity rather than developing our creative powers to insure security and autonomy.

As indicated at the beginning of this report, the study has just begun. The conclusiors shared are tentative and need considerable clarification and further study. The experience of initiating the study, interviewing many well informed individuals and the prospect of continuing the exploration has been and continues to be an exciting personal and professonal challenge.